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*Environmental control
is not a warm puppy*

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• RUNNING WITH MALCOLM •

JEWS AND BLACKS • BERLIOZ

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NEWS & VIEWS

Mr. Bones' Straight Man

They laughed when Messrs. Nixon and Agnew sat down to play at the Gridiron Club gala in Washington . . . and Southerners laughed the hardest.

But, of course, they would. What a howl: the President on one piano playing the favorite songs of former Presidents, and the Vice President on another breaking in with bars of "Dixie."

And when the two capped their performance with "God Bless America" and "Auld Lang Syne," well, by damn, the whole audience rose and tears glistened in the eyes of hardened old politicians. It was Garland at the Palace and then some.

The sensitive got a little bit sick, however. Like former Assistant Attorney General Roger Wilkins. "After our black decade of imploring, suing, marching, lobbying, singing, rebelling, praying and dying we had come to this: a Vice Presidential Dixie with the President as his straight man," Wilkins wrote indignantly in the *Washington Post*.

What gnawed at Wilkins was the thought that the humor of the evening betrayed the truth of the situation. "The rich and the powerful in jest tell many truths about themselves and their country," Wilkins commented. "I don't feel very gracious about what they told me."

The message Wilkins got was r-a-c-i-s-m, conscious and unconscious.

The point of the Nixon-Agnew act was to make sport with the idea of a Southern strategy in the Nixon Administration. "White people have funny senses of humor," said Wilkins, one of two black men at the gala. "Black people don't think [a Southern strategy] funny at all. That strategy hits men where they live—in their hopes for themselves and their dreams for their children." It's so true, it hurts.

By the same token, neither will the poor think funny Nixon's request of Johnny Cash that Cash sing "Welfare Cadillac" at the White House.

Cash balked at the idea of singing a song which poked fun at people on welfare, but his sensitivity saved nothing—not when the request for the song originated with the President and not when the President declined to repudiate the request.

If there was a message in the Mr. Bones act at the Gridiron Club, there's a more blunt one here.

You don't regale yourself at the expense of the underprivileged and the put-upon—not when your office, if nothing else, charges you with a responsibility for correcting their condition . . . You don't, that is, if your concern is genuine.

Political Schick

Patrick J. Frawley, the man who owns Senator George Murphy (via free

travel card, \$260 a month toward his Washington rent, and a \$20,000 annual consultant's fee) also owns the conservative Catholic weekly, *Twin Circle*. And he's the man behind the radio program of *Twin Circle's* editor, superhawk Jesuit, Father Daniel Lyons.

Frawley owns Murphy through Technicolor, Inc., a California-based operation. And he owns *Twin Circle* through Schick-Eversharp, of which Frawley is president and *Twin Circle* a subsidiary.

The Lyons radio program is a spin-off of the latter, and in many respects the neatest of the Frawley coups. For it qualifies for free time on the airwaves under the heading "public service."

Several hundred stations are carrying the program, and feeding the public strong dosages of political Schick in the guise of religious programming.

Lyons, for instance, still declaims in favor of mining Haiphong harbor. And Vietnamization is a mistake, not because it is a military and political delusion, but because it "is encouraging the Communists to wait us out of Vietnam." To the core he's the epitomization of so many McCarthy-era clergymen—Joe McC., that is.

The Institute for American Democracy is protesting the Lyons program, claiming that under the FCC Fairness Doctrine, stations carrying Lyons have a legal and moral obligation to search out and carry programs of the opposite view.

If many are, it's not so as you'd notice it.

Meanwhile, "Up With People," the youth song festival sponsored by Moral Re-Armament, has been singing of the "new St. Patrick."

You guessed it . . . Patrick Frawley has already been canonized by the right.

New Situation, New Rule

What's sauce for the goose isn't necessarily sauce for the gander.

Last November Mr. Nixon summoned newsmen to his office to show off the stacks of mail supporting his Vietnam policy speech.

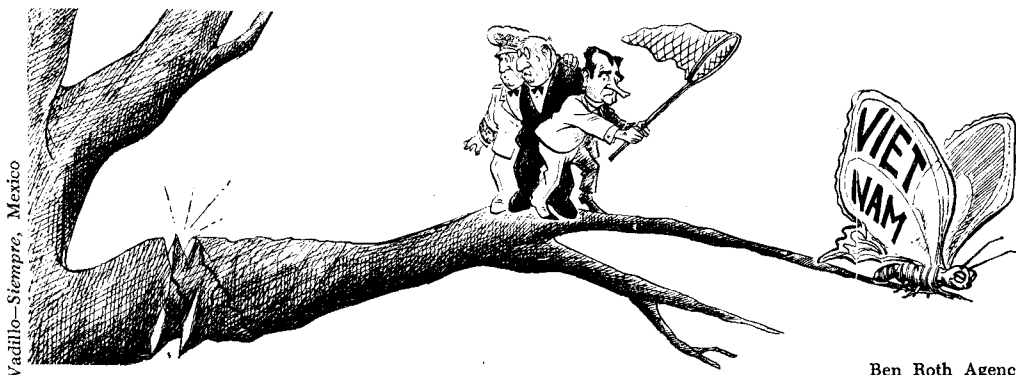
Asked March 21 about the flow of mail opposing his Carswell nomination, Nixon remarked: "I always used to tell young Senators when they first came to Washington that in making the decision, they should do it not by weighing the mail."

Odds and Ends

—Rear Admiral Arthur B. Engel, superintendent of the Coast Guard Academy, was thrown for a loss by the presence of four varsity athletes among nine cadets forced to resign for smoking marijuana. "The thing that amazes me," said Engel, "is that a boy who's a good athlete would ever think of getting involved in this kind of thing." Now if you're looking for an instance of the jock mentality at work . . .

—No question any more about the vision of Peter Steinfelds' seer, Cassandra Needle. Cassandra tipped Steinfelds [2/27/70] that the new thing in religious publishing would be ecological theology. The next week *Christian Century* had a piece entitled "The Struggle for an Ecological Theology." Then *America* was out with "Ecology—The New Religion?" The only thing missing now is a book on the subject by Andrew Greeley. Give him two weeks.

JOHN DEEDY



CORRESPONDENCE



Symptoms, Not Problems

Whitewater, Wisc.

To the Editors: Finding Michael Novak's article, "Do Students Want Education?" [Mar. 13] to be a belligerent generalization and lacking in empathetic vision, I feel a response is needed from a student both in "rage" and seeking "educational reform."

Before attempting to defend "my side" I feel a definition of education is necessary (which was badly needed in Mr. Novak's article). Education is the creation of images and symbols which will equip man for survival. With this definition in mind, then, it is easy to see, for example, how the newly created symbol of *authenticity* from *authority* has pushed our "strong traditional" universities into a temporary state of non-communication which is often the result of the rage and distrust on which Mr. Novak expounded.

Rage and distrust are not problems but symptoms of breakdowns in communication. Students, whose traditional role has been one of a computer being fed inert ideas, are just now learning how to communicate with each other and, in a few cases, have even broken through to that vast, amorphous structure with which most universities are plagued.

In closing, I would like to add that the rage and distrust which Michael Novak views as a deterrent to education, is, in fact, a sign that education is now taking place in a contemporary crude form which will evolve into much greater vision and depth.

MARY RAFFINI

Submerged Hippos

Ithaca, N. Y.

To the Editors: Re "Pollution and the Poor" [Feb. 20]: The environment today is suffering from overexposure—both from the eternal stampede of people, and from the inky deluge of the press. While this gray massive issue
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CAMBODIAN CONFUSION

The first thing we know about what is happening in Southeast Asia is that we don't. Day by day the picture, as reported here, shifts. Popular feeling in Cambodia for the return of Prince Sihanouk is on the decline. Popular feeling is flaring up. Vietcong forces are advancing on Pnom Penh. Vietcong forces are nowhere in sight. Cambodia will or will not request U.S. assistance in expelling the Vietnamese. (It depends on whether you listen to what they say or read the official text of what they say.) The U.S. and Saigon have or have not changed policy on expanding the war into new regions. On April 1—symbolic date, no doubt—an Associated Press reporter who left Cambodia reported that newsmen there must generally report only the official version of events, and that firsthand observations contradicting the government's claim of a Vietcong threat to the capital were barred by censorship.

The motives of the various actors in the region are as puzzling as the day-by-day events. North Vietnam and the Liberation Front are clearly determined to maintain the security of the Ho Chi Minh trail and their sanctuaries in Cambodia. Perhaps they would also like to demonstrate to a Nixon Administration still hoping to "cool" the war and hold on till victory that the other side has options undreamed of in Washington's philosophy. Vietnam (with our allies, the Thais) ruled Cambodia and Laos in the 19th century; and there are suggestions that the Vietnamese, North and South, would like to do as much again today. It does not seem likely: as though Hanoi and Saigon did not have troubles enough on their hands already.

U.S. interest in a pro-American government in Cambodia seems—momentarily—clear, and suspicions of American connivance in the recent coup naturally follow. Only momentarily, however. Sihanouk, after all, has been pursuing an anti-Vietnamese *domestic* policy for a year now, while attempting to maintain his international neutrality. Where the U.S. might have enjoyed the best of both worlds, now it may only be faced with an expanded war and another unpopular regime to prop up. One's estimate of U.S. involvement, at this stage of the Cambodian game, is apt to ride on one's estimate of the capacity for folly among our policy makers. Alas, in that regard we are constantly amazed.

Anyone tempted to put the Cambodian coup into available Cold War

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pigeonholes should remember that Prince Sihanouk, sometimes portrayed as a leftist in the American press, was in fact opposed as a corrupt monarch by left-wing revolutionaries in his own land. One analysis has it that the coup was triggered by rivalry between right-wing factions. Shrewd observers noted that Peking has not leaped to endorse Sihanouk's call for a monarch-led liberation war in Cambodia; nor did Hanoi, despite its withdrawal of officials, immediately move to break diplomatic relations with Pnom Penh.

So take out that set of dominoes you had stashed away. Are they all indeed falling exactly as Eisenhower and innumerable domino-ists since him have warned? Of course, the main domino, Saigon, on which the others were said to depend, is still being held, however feebly, upright. That doesn't add strength to the original thesis.

And then there is the way a *Le Monde* correspondent sized up the picture: "Domino Theory in Reverse" was his headline; and his conclusion ran: "It is not the Communists' accession to power in a country that brings down the neighboring governments, but U.S. support of anti-Communist regimes that eliminates the neutralists from power in favor of the Right." In his view, the Cambodian coup is the last in a series of shifts, in Indonesia, Thailand and Laos, each extending U.S. influence.

Is America winning? Is it losing? By what criteria? No one can answer. What we *are* doing is bleeding, killing, dying, destroying—intervening in quarrels that should not be our business, embittering them, sometimes even initiating them. Unless that is at last understood, the latest events in Southeast Asia may only suck us deeper into the quicksand.

The State of the Abortion Question

On March 11, 1970 the State of Hawaii became the first government in the English-speaking world to eliminate all criminal sanctions from its laws for any abortion done by licensed physicians. The 30 percent of Hawaii's population who are Roman Catholic constituted the only organized resistance to the change in the abortion laws. Although several legislators who are Catholic voted for the repeal of the abortion law, the *Hawaii Catholic Herald* newspaper in its February 27 issue editorialized that "a veto is the only course of action open to the Governor which would remove this cloud of shame hanging over Hawaii."

At least one Catholic legislator who voted for the change in the law expressed his disapproval of the campaign of Catholic spokesmen. Governor John A. Burns, a devout Catholic, allowed the bill to become law without his signature and with the simple statement that abortion is "a matter of individual conscience."

The example of Hawaii will no doubt accelerate the demands for a "non-law" on abortion now being made in virtually all of the states. New York is moving in that direction as this is written. Indeed it seems fair to say that after Hawaii the dilemma confronting Catholics and others opposed to abortion on moral grounds is no longer whether Catholics can denounce abortion, control the votes and thereby seek to prevent any change in existing abortion laws. The real dilemma for opponents of abortion seems to come to this: Is

it better to allow the state to establish by law a limited number of reasons which would justify an abortion or would it be better if the law were silent about abortion and thus left this matter to the good conscience of parents and physicians?

This observer feels that the laws enacted in some twelve states over the past three years authorizing abortions where the pregnancy results from rape or incest, where it may injure the physical or mental health of the mother or where the fetus is predictively defective will not solve the problem of abortion. These laws will, in addition, give to the state for the first time in the history of Anglo-American jurisprudence the right to decide which unhealthy or inconvenient unborn persons may be extinguished before birth. Empirical data, moreover, from the several states which have adopted a "liberalized" law on abortion do not give one the feeling that these laws are a happy accommodation between groups which are opposed to all abortions as immoral and those individuals who feel that a certain limited number of social, medical or psychiatric indications should justify an abortion.

Persons opposed to abortion on moral grounds can, of course, still hope for the enactment of a law which predictively would minimize the number of fetal deaths. But should this hope or desire be the sole determinant in judging the wisdom or effectiveness of an abortion law? A further question, moreover, must be asked: Even if the "liberalized" law now enacted in some twelve states does in fact result in fewer abortions than the "non-law" of Hawaii, how can one measure that result against the fact that the government now possesses the right to establish standards as to who may live and who may die?

No one pretends, of course, that it is an easy thing for Catholics and others who believe in the inviola-

STALLED DRIVE

When the postal workers walked out in New York and many other sections of the country, *Commonweal* suffered the travail of thousands of other American small enterprises. The pressure of clerks and postmen to secure an adequate wage shut things down so completely here that for nearly two full weeks there was literally no income. The magazine's \$46,000 Continuation Fund drive ground to a halt and is only now slowly resuming. By April 6 some 3,185 subscribers had contributed \$29,628. This leaves \$16,372 still needed to assure continued publication. We therefore urge subscribers and library readers who have not yet given to send their contributions without delay to *Commonweal*, 232 Madison Avenue, New York, 10016.

Japan's Future On Expo-sition

Expo 70, the futuristic world's fair of arts and industry, opened in Osaka on March 15. Most of the visitors to Japan during the next six months will probably see it as a kaleidoscope of soaring structures, wild lighting-effects, and splashy exhibits.

For the Japanese, who will have every bit as good a time at the fair as anybody else, Expo 70 is something much more. It is a profoundly political and cultural event that marks the entry of Japan into the ranks of the world's major powers. The Japanese, in effect, are

bility of fetal life to acquiesce in the withdrawal of criminal penalties against those who would destroy this fetal life. But the question is no longer the possibility of a total prohibition of abortion but rather the question of weighing the long-range evil effects of permitting the government to establish standards as to who will live and who will die rather than simply having the government withdraw from the area of protecting the first twelve to twenty weeks of non-viable fetal life.

If the state of the abortion question after Hawaii poses much more clearly the only two options left for opponents of abortion, it also should bring about a clarification of the credibility of official Catholic spokesmen who in every state of the union have denounced any change in the abortion laws. No one, of course, disputes the right of a Catholic prelate to speak out about the morality of any question. But one wonders whether Catholic clerical spokesmen at the highest level will continue to intervene in the political order and state dogmatically that no change whatsoever in the abortion laws can be morally permissible. One wonders whether Catholic episcopal spokesmen will continue to assume that they can make up the mind of Catholic legislators on the abortion question just as the bishops of Massachusetts in 1948 "told" Catholic legislators not to repeal the anti-birth control law or Catholic officials in New York State directed Catholic legislators until the very recent past not to permit divorce for the ordinary reasons for which divorce was obtainable in every other state of the union.

Perhaps it is time that all of us recall the words of Vatican II's declaration on religious freedom which urged that "in spreading religious faith and in introducing religious practices, everyone ought at all times to refrain from any manner of coercion which

might seem to carry a hint of coercion or of a kind of persuasion that would be dishonorable or unworthy. . . ." On the assumption that belief in the inviolability of non-viable fetal life is *de facto* a religious belief, can Catholic spokesmen be open to the accusation that they are acting in the abortion controversy in a way which clearly "might seem to carry a hint of coercion"?

The limited jurisprudential options now available to those who are opposed on moral grounds to abortion offer at best a Hobson's choice. A request by a healthy mother for the abortion of a healthy fetus is all too often, in Princeton theological Professor Paul Ramsey's phrase, "fetal euthanasia."

The consequences to morality, however, of a change in the abortion laws should not blind Catholic spokesmen to the other unfortunate results of their intervention in the political order.

In June 1968 this author, in an address to the Catholic Theological Society of America, made a recommendation as follows:

It is submitted that episcopal statements going beyond the morality of abortion and entering into the question of jurisprudence or the best legal arrangement are inappropriate intrusions in a pluralistic society by an ecclesiastical official who wrongly assumes that he can pronounce a moral and uniform position for his church on a legal-political question.

This recommendation is now more relevant and more urgent after the action by the Hawaii Legislature to repeal all criminal sanctions against abortions done by licensed physicians.

ROBERT F. DRINAN

(Father Robert F. Drinan, S.J., longtime dean of the Boston College Law School, is currently campaigning for the Democratic nomination for Congress in the 3rd. Massachusetts District.)

saying to the world—and themselves—that “we are a proud people who deserve respect because of our accomplishments.”

The Japanese, a people given to setting bench marks for themselves, have increasingly looked to 1970 as a turning point in the history of their nation. This is the year in which a resurgent nationalism has come nearly to full force, 25 years after the humiliating defeat of World War II. It is the year in which the Japanese are turning their attention to the use of the power that derives from the industrious and educated population, the stability of the political order, the demonstrated productivity of the economy, and the potential for military strength.

Things rarely happen suddenly in Japan. The Japanese lead carefully ordered lives, individually and as a society. They make their decisions deliberately and only after what to the Western mind is a tedious and cumbersome process of reaching a consensus. All of this is equally true in the making of foreign policy.

Possibilities

A year ago, three alternatives seemed possible for Japan. The Japanese could stay in the neutralist, pacifist cocoon in which they had wrapped themselves since 1945, letting the world go by so long as Japanese steel and transistor radios kept selling in export markets. Or Japan could enter into a genuine working association with the United States, contributing to political stability and economic progress in Asia commensurate with its resources. Or the Japanese could set out on their own to become the Gaullists of Asia, seeking to become politically predominant and rebuilding a military force that would include nuclear weapons.

Events over the last few months appeared to have ruled out the neutralist option. Japan has started swinging toward an activist role. The question now is how much influence the Japanese will try to exert, how soon, and in what manner.

Prime Minister Eisaku Sato came to Washington in November to obtain an agreement from President Nixon that the island of Okinawa would be returned to Japan in 1972. He succeeded and left behind him in Washington the impression that this was the start of big, if still undefined, things for Japan.

A solid victory at the polls in an election shortly after reinforced Mr. Sato's position. He named a new cabinet that contained several outspoken advocates of a new place in the sun for Japan. He then submitted to the Diet (parliament) a defense budget that was 17 percent larger than that of the previous year and the most telling increase since Japan regained its sovereignty in 1952.

Finally, Japan signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty in February. But it signed with so many reserva-

tions that it was immediately clear the Japanese have no intention of ratifying the treaty in the near future. The Japanese want no restrictions on their development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Moreover, many Japanese leaders want to keep open the right to acquire nuclear weapons should the Communist Chinese nuclear threat increase and the Americans retreat into neo-isolation.

The next checkpoint on Japan's road will come in June. On the tenth anniversary of the security treaty with the United States, the pact can be abrogated or revised by either side on one year's notice. Mr. Sato and Mr. Nixon agreed in November that the treaty would continue in force indefinitely. The Japanese left may take to the streets in June to demonstrate against the alliance. But it is so fragmented with internal ideological and factional quarrels that not much trouble is anticipated.

Thus, the immediate outlook is that Japan will begin to share some of the burden in Asia with the United States, first through expanded economic aid to Southeast Asia. The Japanese have been giving considerable thought to the prospects in the post-Vietnam period, both for commercial ventures and government assistance. Later, Japan may try to exercise political influence, not as the leader of Asia but as a catalyst to bring about a degree of political cohesion in the area. No military role is expected, although the Japanese are increasing their military force to take over the responsibility of Okinawan security in 1972.

Longer-run, there remains the intriguing and perhaps scary possibility that Japan will go Gaullist. A continuing surge of nationalism, plus a desire not to be dependent on the United States for security, may lead Japan to strike out for itself. No one expects the Japanese to take the adventurist course of the 1930's. But a growing number of politicians and intellectuals think that the United States, the Soviet Union, and Communist China will eventually cancel each other out in Southeast Asia. They foresee a power vacuum into which a major power must move, at least politically and economically, to stabilize the region. These people look around and see that only Japan has the clout to do it.

RICHARD HALLORAN

(Richard Halloran, a diplomatic correspondent for the New York Times in Washington, is the author of *Japan: Images and Realities*.)

NO APRIL 10 ISSUE

The issue of *Commonweal* which would have been dated April 10, 1970 was not published due to the mail strike. All subscriptions will be automatically extended for an extra week to make up for the omission.

THE POLITICS OF POLLUTION



Why are the corporations cooperating?

MICHAEL HARRINGTON



One of the main reasons that the issue of the environment has suddenly become so popular and ubiquitous is that people wrongly think that it is non-controversial. Nobody, David Brinkley said on a February newscast, is in favor of pollution; everybody is against it.

That is a dangerous half-truth (and I credit Brinkley for being one of the more astute, and sympathetic, newsmen). It is quite right to note that filthy air, noise, congestion and dirty water afflict the middle and upper classes as well as the poor. And that fact certainly does create a huge constituency, for, quite literally, everyone has an interest in cleaning up the environment. It is also true, but less happy, that the pollution crusade may turn out to be a genteel rest home for affluent idealists exhausted by their failures to end either poverty or the war in Vietnam.

But the consensus theory of environmental politics is also profoundly false (and I shall shortly summon up the memory of that great exponent of "reasoning together," Lyndon B. Johnson, to document the point). For just as everyone was against poverty, but powerful institutional forces refused to do what its abolition required, there are corporations which have become conscience-stricken about pollution only because they fear punitive legislation. They have enlisted in the crusade to ensure that it does not become militant and effective.

And the corollary of this analysis is that the democratic Left must have its own, quite distinctive program to save the environment. It must educate and organize around the proposition that the issue is political and

conflict-laden and demands an assertion of social priorities in air and water which will override an entrenched private interest in their abuse.

One must thus prepare for vigorous contention for a simple reason. Ending pollution raises that most explosive of political questions: Who pays?

For we have now recognized that the failure of the market system is basic to our current environmental crisis. Air and water were considered to be "free" resources. Therefore a corporation which would invest enormous amounts of time and money in figuring out how to economize the costs of labor and capital did not give a second thought to using and destroying rivers, lakes and the atmosphere. The social costs of this pricing system, with its positive incentives for pollution, have now become intolerable, so we are going to decide, in one way or another, to charge for the environment. As Richard Nixon said in his State of the Union message, "We can no longer afford to consider air and water common property, free to be abused by anyone without regard to the consequences."

But whenever society determines that it is going to put a price tag on resources that were, up to yesterday, "free," there is an enormous potential for conflict. Moreover, although Mr. Nixon accurately stated the generality, he ignored some of the outstanding specifics. For the corporations which most notably squandered our "common property" of air and water are the largest in the land: pollution tends to grow along with economies of scale. So the industries which must now be forced to change their conduct, or else pay for it, include auto, oil, airlines, utilities and other giant types of enterprise.

And the recent past provides ample proof that these corporations will not passively submit to a reduction in

MICHAEL HARRINGTON, whose book, *The Other America*, helped to focus the nation's attention on our "invisible poor," is also the author of *The Democratic Left*.

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their profit margins or restrictions on their operations. In his message on the environment Mr. Nixon had to falsify history to evade this reality.

On January 30, 1967, Lyndon Johnson sent Congress his message on "Protecting Our National Heritage." "It is in private laboratories," the President said, "and in private board rooms that the crucial decisions on new fuels, new control of technology and new means of developing power and locomotion will be made. We should support private efforts now to expand the range of their alternatives and make wiser choices possible." But on the very day that Mr. Johnson was thus engaging in his consensus rhetoric, the *New York Times* reported that Mr. Arjay Miller, the President of the Ford Company, was warning of the "threat of over-regulation by government" with regard to pollution. And the *Wall Street Journal* Washington office commented on the Johnson plan, "Business concerns, which have favored state control of anti-pollution programs, will probably fight hard against the proposal."

When Lyndon Johnson finally did sign the Air Quality Act of 1967, he pretended that he had won a great victory: "new power to stop pollution before it chokes our children and strangles our elderly—before it drives us indoors or into the hospital." The *Wall Street Journal* was, once again, more realistic about the law: "This was a major victory for such industrial groups as the coal producers, who vigorously opposed toughening Federal standards."

In his environment message this year, Nixon confirmed that the *Wall Street Journal* was right and Johnson wrong. For, as he documented, the "new powers" granted in 1967 had not even slowed down the crisis. But it would not do for an optimistic, preachy Republican President to admit the cause of this failure—that the very corporations to which he was now appealing had subverted the 1967 legislation. So he rewrote history: "Quite inadvertently, by ignoring environmental costs we have given an economic advantage to the careless polluter over his more conscientious rival." That "inadvertence," in point of fact, had been carefully lobbied through the Congress by the big polluters and they had prevailed over the wishes of the President of the United States.

But why, then, are the corporations cooperating now? An analogy to auto safety is helpful in understanding this development. Before Ralph Nader had awakened a national constituency and created enormous political pressure for new safety legislation, the auto giants tried to ridicule his charges and, for that matter, to conduct a private investigation of him in order to smear him, black-mail him, or both. But once Nader's crusade had succeeded, Detroit tried to head off the reform movement at the pass by proposing *its* safety program and ultimately by proudly advertising the devices which they had been forced to install at political gunpoint.

Today, I am suggesting, the polluting corporations are making a similar, tactical retreat: the 1967 strategy of vetoing effective legislation will no longer work; so the new emphasis is to be on making sure that the public, rather than the guilty companies, will pay the bill for cleaning up the environment.

General Motors has already announced that anti-pollution features in its cars will raise prices by \$100. And in the February issue of *Fortune*, Max Ways quotes Henry Ford as proposing that the government spend money to generate a private, market demand for innovations in protecting the environment. These attitudes account for an interesting phenomenon on the stock market which the *Wall Street Journal* reported on February 3rd: in the midst of a bear market, the "ecological" stocks are bullish. If the speculators are right, there is going to be a new, multi-billion dollar environmental industry and filthy air and water will yield a profit.

This approach solves the question of who pays. The consumer is indirectly taxed by the corporation which passes on to him the cost of any government regulations. But there is an even more audacious proposal for seeing to it that the public supports the polluters. When *Fortune* magazine queried some of the most important executives in the nation on how to deal with the environmental crisis, the strategy favored by most of them (57%) was for the government to give industry a tax-cut so that it could finance anti-pollution devices. This would mean that the biggest polluters, with the greatest problems, would get the largest subsidies. It would, in effect, reward those who have befouled the atmosphere. And it would, like all other tax expenditures for the private sector, take money away from social uses.

Need for a Program

Ecology, then, is a highly political issue. And that is why the democratic Left has to begin immediately to develop a distinctive program aimed at charging the polluters, rather than the people, for the cost of cleaning up the environment and at relating the solution of this new problem to our older concerns with social needs. Above all the environmental campaign must not become an escape from the domestic priorities which we have identified, but not observed, in recent years.

First of all, the attempt to reclaim our air and water emphasizes the need for comprehensive planning.

In his message on the environment, President Nixon evoked an imminent apocalypse: "Based on present trends, it is quite possible that by 1980 the increase in the sheer number of cars in densely populated areas will begin outrunning the technological limits of our capacity to reduce pollution from the internal combustion engine." That is a clear warning of impending social doom. But in his budget, the very same President Nixon, after the usual glittering generalities, assigned mass transit 6 per-

cent of the money he is spending on highways. Yet it is obvious that by reducing the "sheer number" of cars by providing new, pollution-free public transit one could take a major step toward dealing with suffocation in 1980. But Mr. Nixon, for all his talk, is actually putting the power of the Federal Government behind increasing auto congestion with all its fumes.

Here again, if Mr. Nixon observed the logic of his own priorities he would have to challenge some of the wealthiest vested interests in the nation, i.e., the auto-oil-construction alliance for paving the country. Indeed the *Wall Street Journal* has already warned the President that an attempt to produce an alternative to the internal combustion engine might lead to the "severe disruption of the nation's largest industries." Here, as in the case of most of the other crucial areas of American life, only a political movement based on a non-corporate and radical majority can put forth the solutions we need.

Secondly, the cost of fighting pollution must be charged to the polluters. And that means some price and profit controls.

If the funds for cleaning up the environment are not to be reflected in higher prices, steps will have to be taken so that industry cannot simply send the bill to the consumer. But then this is only one more case in which the right of huge corporations to follow a pricing policy without any social considerations has to be challenged. And that is precisely what Richard Nixon, with his ideological commitment to the values of the Old Economics, will not do. Under Kennedy-Johnson there were at least attempts to "jawbone" over prices and wages and sometimes, as in John Kennedy's famous confrontation with the steel companies, the policy worked.

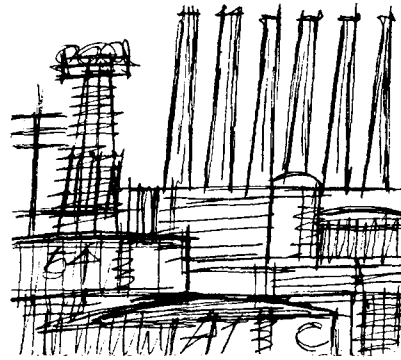
But Mr. Nixon—as a good Republican—is keeping his hands off. The *London Economist*—hardly a radical periodical—commented at the end of January on one consequence of this policy: "With its usual lack of political sense the American steel industry, presumably managed almost entirely by Republicans, is celebrating a new year with yet another price increase." In the ten (mainly Democratic) years between 1959 and 1969, the *Economist* noted, steel prices were up by 6 percent; in the first twelve months of Richard Nixon they soared by 7 percent. And yet, in February the United States Steel Corporation explained that it was too poor to afford anti-pollution devices at its Duluth, Minnesota, plant.

This clearly will not do. As part of a general policy which insists that all major pricing decisions of large corporations be subject to public debate and that all the necessary data be made a matter of public record, the democratic Left should demand a policing of the price and profit policies of the major polluters. Only in this way can we see to it that corporate wealth pays for the profitable damage it has already done and be given an expensive reason to behave differently in the future.

Thirdly, the details of the Nixon program must be

read carefully by experts with a social conscience. For there is already evidence that the President, for all his bold slogans, announced a resolute march to the rear in his pollution message.

As E. W. Kenworthy pointed out in the *New York Times*, Mr. Nixon suggests a "fair allocation of the total capacity of the waterways to absorb the user's particular kind of waste without becoming polluted." This, Kenworthy continued, is a statement of the doctrine of "assimilative capacity," i.e., one pollutes the water up to a safe limit. It is in contradiction to the present principle



of "beneficial use" which states that one actually takes a positive view toward the value of the water. Under the Nixon refinement it may even be possible for industries to pollute waters which are now clean. After all, they have not been fouled up to their "assimilative capacity."

This point has larger implications. The Nixon philosophy is that the government should play an essentially negative, limiting role vis-à-vis the private sector. But in the case of water and in the area of the other profound social consequences of private investment, that is not enough. A technological innovation—the supersonic transport, for instance—affects many crucial areas of social life: pollution by fumes and by noise, airport congestion, public monies for highways to carry traffic to and from the planes, and so on. Therefore the major programs of all corporations should be tested for social consequence by an independent public agency. If we do not allow drug manufacturers to market a new product without first checking on its effect on health, we can no longer allow other industries to unilaterally impose their priorities on the nation. And "beneficial use" should be the criterion, not just for water, but for technology in general.

Finally, we cannot allow the environment to become a substitute for the struggle against poverty and urban blight. It must be an aid to it.

Mr. Nixon has been very bold in attacking the unions with the Philadelphia Plan (by following fiscal and governmental policies which cut back on construction at the same time he imposes a racial quota on the building industry, he makes a black-white struggle for scarce jobs inevitable—but then maybe that's precisely what he wants, for it splits the two most effective components of

the opposition). And he is willing to pay a premium to car-makers who come up with pollution-free autos. But the democratic Left must insist that this entire new effort require that the burgeoning anti-pollution industry hire the unemployed and underemployed poor with special emphasis on the minorities, and that the location of facilities take social, as well as economic considerations into account.

We have already discovered through the "new careers" program that poor people can make effective contributions to the economy without a great deal of expensive training so long as jobs are designed for them (rather, so to speak, than "designing" them for the job). If there is now going to be a vanguard industry which does not now have a vested interest in the old ways, that provides a marvelous opportunity to redeem some of our promises

to the poor, the blacks, and the Spanish-speaking—and to do so by giving the entire society a better place to live. In other words, we must be as concerned about the social effect of fighting pollution and not just about technology.

But to carry out this program will require political conflict. For recent experience and the present attitudes of the corporate sector show that it wants to deal with the environment in a conservative way which will yield a profit to those who created the problem in the first place. It is therefore quite wrong to think that all of us men of good will are going to get together and clean up our common air and water. We are going to have to prepare for vigorous conflict if this new crusade is actually going to achieve its goals and, in the process, benefit the entire society and not just the polluters.

WHO IS A JEW?



Synagogue and state in Israel

MICHAEL ZEIK

An Israeli TV audience last month heard an anguished story from a survivor of a Nazi concentration camp. One of the few Jews found alive when the allied forces reached the camp, she had since emigrated to Israel. Now, with the government's adoption of the strict Orthodox definition of Jewish identity, she finds she is not a Jewess at all. Jewish enough to die under Hitler, she is not Jewish enough to be married to a Jew in the state of Israel. Daughter of a Jewish father but non-Jewish mother, she is thinking of emigrating once again: "I would rather be a Jew abroad, than a gentile in Israel," she said sorrowfully.

There is a church-state problem, or, to be more exact, a synagogue-state problem in Israel so exacerbating that it makes a question like state-aid-to-parochial-schools in America seem trivial by comparison. The whole world was sharply reminded of the uneasy alliance between the secular and religious components in Israel by the explosive "Shalit Case" which split the country apart in February. The American press gave due coverage, but never explored the historical background which would have rendered it fully intelligible. Briefly, the facts of the Shalit case are as follows.

Oren Shalit is the six-year-old son of Lt. Comdr. Benjamin Shalit (Jewish) and his Scotch, gentile wife. Both parents consider themselves atheists. Comdr. Shalit

wished to register the child with the Ministry of the Interior, as follows: "Nationality—Jewish; Religion—none." The clerk in the Ministry refused to accept such a registration. Why? Because the State of Israel has acceded to the demands of the Orthodox that in certain crucial areas, such as marriage, divorce, and Jewish identity, the state will be bound by the rabbinic code. And no one, according to the Halakah, the rabbinic law, possesses Jewish identity unless born of a Jewish mother, or converted to Judaism according to Orthodox procedures which are much more stringent than Reform or Conservative procedures.

It is a bit of a surprise to learn that in a faith as male-oriented as Orthodox Judaism (women may not sit front and center with their husbands during worship in the synagogue), Jewish identity nevertheless is derived from the mother. But according to Talmudic teaching, it is the womb that purifies the child. Perhaps, as a reform-rabbi friend of mine suggests, in back of this teaching lies the simple fact that the identity of the mother is biologically certain; while the identity of the father is only "morally" certain. In any case, such is the teaching of the Halakah, and the State of Israel has bound itself to it.

Comdr. Shalit, however, decided to push his case, and there is little question but that a large majority of the Israeli population was with him. The case went to the civil courts, and ultimately to the High Court, where the nine justices rendered a five-four decision in his favor. It appeared that the stranglehold of the Orthodox

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on the Ministry of the Interior had been broken. Two thousand years of Halakic tradition had been swept aside. A Jew could now be defined as anyone who so defines himself, on whatever basis, ethnic, religious, or national, that he chooses. The majority viewpoint, as expressed by Justice Yoel Sussman, noted that nationality and religion had become matters of "subjective feeling" in Israel. How could any child who spoke Hebrew, celebrated Jewish holidays in traditional (albeit non-religious) fashion, and who lived immersed in Jewish society, be considered gentile?

Had the decision of the High Court stood up, the hold of Orthodox Judaism on Israeli society would have been badly shaken. It might have led, further, to the official recognition of Reform and Conservative rabbis, and to the end of Orthodox jurisdictional monopoly on marriage and divorce.

It did not stand up. Israeli law, unlike American, permits a decision of the High Court to be overruled by legislative enactment. And the decision of the court had threatened the nation with the "internal secession" of the Orthodox, not to mention the concerted obloquy of the Orthodox community overseas. "It (the decision) may have scored a dubious point for civil liberties," charged Prof. Norman Lamb of Yeshiva University, "but it has put us in danger of losing the whole contest for Jewish continuity." On March 10th, by a vote of 51 to 14, the Knesset reversed the decision of the High Court, and passed into law the Halakah definition of Jewish identity. We may suppose that Orthodox intransigence is greater than Reform, Conservative, or secular intransigence within the Jewish community.

The ironies of the new ruling would be humorous if they were not so bitter. During the debate in the Knesset, opposition members were quick to point out that under the new law some of the grandchildren of David Ben Gurion could not be considered Jews (since his son had married a gentile); while some of Nikita Khrushchev's grandchildren could so qualify (since his son had married a Jewess).

The new ruling, as we shall see later, was itself modified somewhat, under great pressure of the Israeli people, to ease the plight of immigrants. But first we must ask, as the press and the media did *not*, how does it happen that the State of Israel, in the year 1970, finds itself ripped apart by such traumatic quarrels over the fundamental question of Jewish identity? The answer can be found only in the historical origin of the Zionist movement.

Disagreements between Christians and Jews in the Middle Ages were both frequent and bloody. Nevertheless they agreed on one very basic question: both accepted the fact that the Jews were a separate people (not a native people with a variant religion), in exile because of God's displeasure. (The cause of the displeasure, certainly, was interpreted very differently by Christian and

Jew.) Contrary to popular belief, medieval segregation was not in *every* way abhorrent to the Jewish community. Although hateful because imposed from without, it nevertheless safeguarded and preserved the treasure of Jewish tradition and law.

The Enlightenment, therefore, came as something of a shock, therapeutic or otherwise, to European Jewry. We must remember that these Jews were not only the beneficiary, but, as Arthur Cohen (in *The Natural and Supernatural Jew*) has pointed out, the *victim*, also, of the new revolutionary egalitarianism. The Jew received the ticket of admission to European society, but the price of that ticket was often the flat down-payment of everything that had hitherto made him unique, made him a Jew.

What is more, he found to his amazement that even the sacrifice of the customs and beliefs which had made him unique did not ultimately win him full human acceptance. He could somehow understand the 'theological hostility' of medieval Christendom; but the contempt of a thoroughly secular society was devastating.

The failure of the emancipation and the enlightenment, the brutal persistence of the age-old "Jewish problem" into the 19th Century, galvanized such leaders as Theodor Herzl, founder of modern Zionism, into action. Their principal motivation was not religious, but humanitarian. The Enlightenment had failed. French Jews had not been accepted as "Frenchmen who attended the Synagogue"; German Jews had not been accepted as "Germans of the Mosaic persuasion." The Dreyfus and the Mortara affairs proved that. Herzl was a completely secular Jew who envisioned a Jewish homeland in Israel, not as a religious eschatological fulfillment, but as a rational alternative to the problem of anti-Semitism.

This left religious Jews, principally in Eastern Europe, in a quandary. Could they cooperate in a venture which contained so many unbelieving, non-observant, secular Jews? Finally, in the late 19th century, they decided they could. For one thing, these completely secular Jews did not (unlike Reform and Conservative elements in the west) propose any rival religious observance of their own.

Secondly, traditional Eastern Jews continued to experience traditional Eastern anti-Semitism in Russia and Poland, where the pre-Enlightenment pogroms were on the increase. Thirdly, the Zionist nationalism of secular Jews could be interpreted, not as a contradiction to, but as the pragmatic instrument of, the mystical, eschatological fulfillment of the Jewish people—the in-gathering, the end of the horrible age-old exile (the galut)! (To be sure, there was one Orthodox faction, the *Agudat Israel*, so strict, that it considered "pre-messianic" Zionism contrary to the will of God, destined to the same tragic end as other pseudo-messianic movements such as Sabbathai Zevi's in the 17th Century.)

But this complex and difficult alliance between Orthodox and secular Jews in the Zionist movement was bound to result, eventually, in strife and factionalism. Thus the

Orthodox branch of the World Zionist Organization set up its own nationalist party in 1901, called the Mizrachi (the abbreviated form for *merkaz ruhani*, i.e., “spiritual center”). So long as Herzl was alive the World Zionist Organization endeavored to keep peace by avoiding all questions disruptive of its major purpose, the securing of a Jewish homeland in Israel. The Mizrachi, for the time being, were extended minimum guarantees of autonomy



in religious and cultural affairs within their own communities in the Holy Land. The Mizrachi intended, of course, that the rabbinic code should be the very constitution and legal edifice of Israel.

That they should have succeeded to the extent that they have—control over state laws pertaining to sabbath rest, marriage, divorce, and even Jewish identity—they owe, in part, to a strange ally, the Muslim Ottoman Empire!

The Turks who ruled Palestine prior to the British mandate at the end of World War I (the Arabs were actually not sovereign there) learned very quickly that the practice of forced conversion to Islam interfered with profitable and peaceful imperialist exploitation. They therefore hit upon the “millet” system of governing internal minorities, such as the Armenians, Greeks, Serbian Orthodox, and Jews. The word “millet” means “nation,” and what the Turks did was to allow each minority people to govern itself according to its own traditional laws, within the framework of the Ottoman Empire. Thus the Jewish community continued to be governed by the Halakah, the rabbinic code. And when the British received the League of Nations’ mandate to take over Palestine, they allowed the same autonomy to the various minorities. Thus it happened that the recognition of Orthodox jurisdiction in marriage, divorce, and questions of personal status, by the Israeli government, was not actually a new privilege, but merely the continuation of centuries-old practice in the Palestinian communities.

Naturally, Western Reform and Conservative Jews have been less than enthusiastic about this privileged arrangement. Not only do most of them live in nations where, by and large, the principle of separation of church and state obtains; but more than that (and this is not generally understood by Christians) the Israeli Orthodox phenomenon weakens them ideologically.

The reason, as Ben Halpern (*The Idea of the Jewish State*) makes clear, is that Reform and Conservative Jewry based their religious innovations (“deviations” to the Orthodox) on “the needs of contemporary history, and the consensus of contemporary Jews.” And now, in the most exciting and significant venture of modern Jewish history, in the living state of Israel, they find themselves not only without all authority, but practically without adherents! Would the Reform and Conservative movements then prove to be, not universal expressions of future Judaism, but merely abortive and local religious expedients peculiar to America and Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries?

Much as Christians in America may find themselves in sympathy with the Reform position, it must be recognized that separation of church and state is largely an American idea—not even an English, Danish, or Spanish idea. It certainly is not a traditionally *Jewish* idea! Rivalry between the Law of Moses and apostate sovereigns goes back as far as King Solomon. Certainly in the prophetic vision of the Old Testament, the state was meant to be a mere instrument of the covenant. Whenever it deviated from the holy covenant, Yahweh sooner or later smashed it to bits. Now, perhaps, we are in a better position to understand what six-year-old Oren Shalit stirred up when his father attempted, despite the rabbinic code, to register him as a Jew. What are Christians to make of all this?

The Logic of Theocracy

In the year 395, the Emperor Theodosius decided that the Roman Empire should be officially Catholic. He permitted the existence of Jewish communities, by the way, but he was extremely hard on pagans and Christian heretics, such as the Arians. The Theodosian Code collected and codified all earlier and current regulations establishing Christianity as the law of the land. Church holy days and the church sabbath became enforced civil holidays; the church’s regulations regarding marriage and divorce, taxation, prerogatives of religious leaders, etc., became civil laws; religion and society were viewed as husband and wife: two in one flesh.

Granted their premises, theocracies are not illogical. “Unprogressive,” surely; “anti-humanistic,” perhaps; but not illogical. When we realize the sincerity of the orthodox Jew who lives his whole life around the integral, purposeful worship of God through obedience to God’s law, we can see how a “secular Holy Land” is, for him, not only a contradiction, but a grave prostitution on the part of Israel, the spouse of Yahweh. But we Christians have trod the Theodosian path before, and no doubt, for most of us, our sympathies lie with disestablishment, with the Reform, Conservative, and the secular.

The question now, as we would phrase it (but the majority of Israelis might join in) is this: Is Israel stuck with

theocracy? Probably not. It is widely felt that Golda Meir and the leading Mapai party have given in to the Orthodox Mizrahi only to prevent "internal secession" in Israel. The outlines of a desired future compromise already appear in the Knesset enactment of March 10th.

First of all, although the Ministry of the Interior accepts only the strict Halakah definition of Jewish identity, it is already clear that the burden of proof is going to rest on the Ministry, and not on the registrant. It is the clerk who is going to have to prove that the immigrant is not indeed the child of a Jewish mother.

This is no idle speculative quibble. Israel is surrounded by roughly a hundred million Arabs. Her population is only about two million, and the birthrate, unlike the pre-industrial Arab birthrate, is low. The last great Jewish populations outside Israel are in America and Russia. While few American Jews wish to leave their country, the case is probably very different for the Russians—should the Soviet Union ever permit it. And these Russian Jews are desperately needed. But many of them are, undoubtedly, the children of mixed marriages. Would they qualify as Jews? Thus the compromise: the burden of proof of Jewish identity will be on the Ministry of the Interior.

Secondly, Israeli citizenship, with all its attendant *civil* rights and benefits (health care, employment, etc.) will be extended to the non-Jewish spouses of Jewish immigrants, and to their children. Thirdly, in defining the term "convert" the government did not employ the word "kadin," which specifically implies conversion according to Orthodox ritual. It appears, therefore, that those who have been converted abroad by Reform and Conservative rabbis (these rabbis are still without jurisdiction in Israel itself) will be accepted as Jews under the new law—a measure violently opposed by the Orthodox.

But Israel's "identity-crisis" is far from over. The Orthodox continue to withhold recognition of the Jewish status of many Israeli citizens, who cannot, as a result, be married in Israel. (These people have to fly to Cyprus to be married before a civil court.) Many of these Israelis have in recent years risked their lives for a Jewish homeland. They are not about to accept their "non-Jewish" status meekly.

Is reconciliation possible? Not, perhaps, in this generation. Reconciliation would appear to require the development of what Christians would call "conciliar Judaism." One cannot rule this out. America has already witnessed the emergence of a new group, *Haburat Shalom*, initiated by young Conservative and Orthodox seminarians who hope to develop an ecumenical movement *within* Judaism. (During the recent Knesset debate, one Orthodox member took out a Reform prayer book, spat on it, and threw it to the ground because of its alleged deviations.)

I have also been advised that the younger Mizrahi party members in Israel are putting pressure on the Rabbinic courts to create new precedents in Halakah, so as to integrate religious codes with the present needs and

circumstances of the contemporary Israeli people. The Halakah, after all, was largely framed to cope with the problems of the diaspora.

Ironically, the Pharisees, whose heirs the Orthodox rabbis claim to be, split with the Sadducees over the question of whether the written law could be modified by tradition. The Pharisees insisted it was possible, and used their concept of "oral law" to mitigate the written law—especially in criminal cases. Although the name, "Pharisee," is apparently derived from the Hebrew word for "separate," on many issues the Pharisees actually proved closer to the common people than did the aristocratic Sadducees. Never to be forgotten is Ellis Rivkin's description of Pharisaic opposition to the law which permitted wealthy individuals to contribute the oxen for the daily Temple sacrifice. This must not be, insisted the Pharisees. The money for the sacrifice must come from the *communal* treasury, and not from the wealthy alone: "No oblation without representation!"

Israel: jewel of paradox. Land of the kibbutz, where (long before Skinner wrote *Walden Two*) the farmer-intellectuals were attempting, through a combination of high idealism and behavioral engineering, to bring forth "the children of the dream." Advanced behavioral engineering and Old Testament Theocracy side by side in a country not much larger than the state of Connecticut! Israel: land of the midnight sun for all practicing rationalists; land where sociologists, political scientists, and theologians, for once in unison, all go mad.



MARK MCCLOSKEY

God

Would He occur if I,
scratching a closet door, cried,
'You, out of there!'
My friend, leaning against the wall,
says in slow-motion
(as one lets a child count
on Kenya's geography)
that God is how the brain smothers
the mouse and snake in it,
that 'cosmic ray' by pure chance
stretching the brain's cage
invented animals for it.
My friend, however, says
nothing of why it is, or why
why is, and goes away,
till I wake to scratch at logic
as rats at casket lids,
sure that crying only, 'You
out of there!' bares
God though He will not come out.

THE SCREEN

In the midst of the market researchers' and movie reviewers' fixation on the Now Generation, valuable films that examine the crises and comedy of middle age are being ignored. These neglected works (wonderful movies like *The Bliss of Mrs. Blossom* and *Petulia*, but also dreck on the order of *Cactus Flower* and *Charly*) are encumbered with characters recognizable from life, who are delineated in a series of related situations called a "plot," and who are troubled by the usual trappings of bourgeois tragedy and farce: ambition, infidelity, stagnation, guilt, impotence. None of this makes much sense to the kids, who seem to live in a plotless, codeless world and want "their" world reflected in "their" art form, the movies. (That non-negotiable demand should evoke a howl from the generation that grew up in the '30s, with its Saturday matinees and Dish Nights. "Let the kids have TV, that's *their* art form," the over-40's say. "The movies were *our* art form, and our life—until the movies turned into the cinema and forgot about us.")

One of the reasons movies have gone plotless, and thus unintelligible to the Then Generation, is that Authority, which used to be the most reliable of plot main-springs, has all but disappeared in kids' lives. There's no parental demand that must be met before the youngsters can marry, no more strictures that simply cannot be broken, no sense of honor that must be satisfied. The defaulted wedding and the postponed marital consummation are two plot staples of '30s movies that seem as quaint today as Papa Barrett's patriarchal obstinacy over Elizabeth's romance with Robert Browning. Plotless movies have followed this demise of Rules and Authority as naturally as a New Morality followed mass production of the Pill. How will moviemakers of the next decades meet this challenge? It may turn out that the typical movie of the Ephemeral Eighties will be Boy Makes Girl, Boy Leaves and Forgets About Girl, Girl Makes Next Boy, in which *la ronde* is danced to a wild, graceless beat; or that story and character will be dispensed with in favor of a non-linear series of visual impressions, in the manner of Stan Brakhage's independent shorts. But this kind of film demands a tremendous amount of cinematic sophistication and patience, for which even the present young audience needs the inten-

sive education they're not likely to receive in Audio-Visual classes.

Maybe the older, more traditional movie subjects and modes still offer the film-maker and his audience the widest range of things to discuss and techniques to communicate with. Witness the relative success of *Midnight Cowboy* and *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* as opposed to the failure of *Easy Rider* and *Alice's Restaurant* (as film art, not as wish fulfillment). It isn't that there's no thematic and technical vocabulary for the inevitable plotless movies of the future, just that nobody's learned the language yet. Of course, the kids may solve the problem for us, simply by growing into middle age themselves. When they take on the responsibilities of making a living, coping with the frustration of monotony, and raising children who call their parents' middle-aged value system "irrelevant," they may find these honest, probing, plot-ridden movies as strong and moving then as we do now.

A fine movie like *Loving* can help demonstrate that the problems of the over-30 marrieds are just as worthy of sympathetic appraisal as those of hippie cyclists who get gunned down by Southern punks. More important, it proves that a team of movie artists can comment on middle-class, middle-aged dreams and illusions insightfully and without idealizing the subject. Perhaps the sourness created by compromise and defeat that passes as the conventional wisdom of middle-age is needed to understand the people in *Loving*, and the film itself. Brooks Wilson, the protagonist, may be as difficult for the kids to "identify with," or even tolerate, as radical heroes are for those in their second or third quarter of a century. As the ads said about Bonnie and Clyde, "They're young. They're in love. They kill people"—and, for a lot of kids, the first two facts were important enough to cancel out the third. The breezy Easy Riders made their money by carrying a stash of dope a thousand miles closer to the veins of its victims. But Brooks Wilson is neither hero nor heroin-pusher—nothing so glamorous, and *Loving* attempts nothing so facile as glamorizing him or, even easier, dismissing him. His job is emblematic, not of the gun-totin', bomb-assemblin' future, but of the leisurely, reactionary past: he's a commercial illustrator in the Age of Photography, an anachronism hustling to make two bits, Sammy Glick as an elevator operator.

One of *Loving's* many small pleasures is in its old-fashioned craftsmanship, its illustrator-like attention to the details of working, playing, making love, and loving. Yet the details are of texture rather than text, of mood and nuance. *Loving* covers much the same *terra infirma* as that earlier map of the middle-age neurotic sensibility, *Petulia*. But, whereas *Petulia* contained enough biographical and psychological information about its characters to fill a diary, a Masters-Johnson index card and an analyst's notebook, *Loving* at first looks spare and

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oblique. The context of the characters in *Petulia* was conveyed by quick-cut shots in the past tense; to pick them up, the viewer needed, filmically, the rapid-fire, Question-and-Answer mentality of "College Bowl." Since the epiphanies in *Loving* may reside in effects as evanescent as a moving camera revealing the layers of a West-port cocktail party as Circle of a boring Hell, or a melancholy dusk-light breaking through the studio window of a couple in the throes of an unspoken divorce, the viewer needs a slightly more refined visual apparatus to appreciate them. Indeed, the critic needs a far more precise and evocative vocabulary to explain them. The lack of such a critical lexicon may be one reason why movies that make subtle use of the moving camera and the intelligent actor generally receive less concrete praise than slam-bang action movies, social-realism films and psychedelic odes to the youth market.

When this critic tries to paraphrase the questions *Loving* raises, he is in danger of sounding like a soap-opera announcer. Is Brooks Wilson content with his work? Is he unhappy enough to quit and learn something else at 37? Is he happy with his terse wife and noisy children? Do they upset him enough to make him

break away and live with his New York mistress? Does he love her, or his wife, or his children, or himself? Does he respect any of them? The *Loving* company (director Irvin Kershner, writer-producer Don Devlin, actors George Segal, Eva Marie Saint, Nancie Phillips, David Doyle, Diana Douglas) makes these points with such intensity and honesty that the lack of answers in the film suggests only the complexity and torment of the questions, as well as the film-makers' respect for the maturity and involvement of their audience. The open-ended conclusion, an electronically-amplified, adulterous grappling session that is as pertinent and poignant here as it was cruel and casual in *M*A*S*H*, and lame and lugubrious in *The Sandpiper* (also featuring Miss Saint), elevates to a shattering volume the tension and distention that lay muted but evident throughout the film. Though its subject is depressing, and though it refuses to absolve the characters and the audience with the wave of a happy ending, *Loving* is, like all superior films, an exhilarating experience. The triumphs of Kershner and Segal, two intelligent and vital artists who until now had not found the right movie, are especially satisfying.

RICHARD CORLISS

BOOKS

Grand passions and grander talent, in a grandly romantic time

Memoirs of Hector Berlioz

TRANS. & EDIT. BY DAVID CAIRNS

Knopf, \$12.50

BERNARD McCABE

These famous *Memoirs* (here cleverly translated and superbly edited by David Cairns) offer a lively history of mid-19th-century music-making, some brilliant extracts from a distinguished music critic's notebook, and above all a fascinating documentation of the romantic way of life. To take the last point first, consider these three episodes.

1. In 1827 Berlioz at 24 sees Harriet Smithson, a pretty Irish actress of fairish talent, playing Juliet. All Paris is Shakespeare-mad for various romantic reasons. Berlioz, who knows no English, is overpowered: "The impression made on my heart and mind by her extraordinary talent, nay her

dramatic genius, was equaled only by the havoc wrought in me by the poet she so nobly interpreted." Next year he sees her again: "I came in just as the frantic Romeo was bearing Juliet in his arms. I gave a shriek and fled, wringing my hands. Juliet saw me and heard me cry. She was afraid. Pointing me out to the actors who were on stage with her, she warned them to beware of that 'gentleman with the eyes that bode no good.'" Berlioz carries on a sort of indirect musical courtship from afar. In 1833 they are married. Six years later comes the marvelous *Romeo and Juliet* symphony.

2. Aged 28, Berlioz in Italy learns that his "fair consoler" in Paris, the pianist Caroline Moke, has married Pleyel, the rich piano-dealer. So he purchases a brace of double-barreled pistols and has a Florentine milliner fit him out with a complete lady's maid outfit, "dress, hat, green veil and the

rest," and sets out for Paris. The plan is to confront the pair in their parlor, throw off his disguise, shoot them both, then himself. At Nice he remembers his music and changes his mind and composes his *King Lear* overture.

3. As a boy of twelve he sees briefly in a mountain garden near his home 18-year-old Estelle Duboeuf; "The moment I beheld her, I was conscious of an electric shock: I loved her." They part, but throughout his life he cultivates the memory of this vision, a small white house, an old tower in ruins, a garden, a mountain, a beautiful inaccessible maiden. Thirty years later he revisits the sacred spot to drench it in tears. Fifty years later he actually searches out and rediscovers the distant beloved, who is now a woman of sixty-eight; "My heart did not waver for an instant. My soul leapt out towards its idol the moment I saw her."

Romanticism personified. Squandered

emotions, tears and ecstasies, passion and pain, life larger than life. These lavish gestures seem too good to be true; yet they *were* true: he did marry his Juliet, he did buy the pistols and the disguise, he did find again the wood-nymph of his erotic-idealist nostalgias.

Berlioz practiced his romantic ironies, too; for us perhaps a more accessible feature of the syndrome. And he makes the dryly rational self-assessments and self-deflations with which the most interesting romantic confessional writers, from Jean-Jacques Rousseau through Norman Mailer, balance their huge claims for attention. So he recalls that Estelle, his star of the mountain, was wearing pink half-boots, or that his Juliet quickly turned into a jealous shrew, or that his aged wood-nymph greeted his ardent raptures with a drastic common-sense. He has the Byronic temperament; a generous openness to what experience can offer, a mixture of self-possession, self-deception and self-awareness, and the large posturings that seem dishonest until we become aware of the sardonic eye challenging us to respond adequately. Knowing Berlioz must have been a bit like knowing Byron. "An extraordinary mixture of enthusiasm and mockery," so his friend, the poet Ernest Legouvé, summed him up.

His greatest enthusiasm is naturally for his music. It afforded him plenty of romantic occasions. Here are two political moments. A thunderclap of "*Aux armes citoyens!*" as he leads a Paris street-mob of 5000 in the *Marseillaise* during the July Revolution: "Try to imagine the effect of this stupendous refrain. I literally sank to the floor." Hungarian nationalists in paroxysms of fervor as his *Rákóczy March* peals out for the first time in Budapest: "The long-delayed fortissimo burst forth, a tumult of shouting and stamping shook the theater; the accumulated pressure of all that seething mass of emotion exploded with a violence that sent a thrill of fear right through me . . . Horváth in his box was throwing himself about like one possessed."

But he was shrewd and intelligent and

realistic about his music. Aristocratic Byron liked to play the amateur, was never wholly convinced about his own talent and what direction it should take. Middle-class Berlioz is not only passionately convinced of the value of his music but he is also the complete professional, and with enormous energy fights fine battles against entrenched nonentities and bureaucratic academies, giving us a witty, circumstantial anatomy of second-rate artistic vested interests at bay. If he used Shakespeare for his grand passions, for his everyday observations he liked to turn to the laconic wit of La Fontaine. His struggle for artistic and for that matter financial survival among the petty selfishnesses and jealousies of the Paris music world is all too familiar—one wonders again, for example, how any good opera ever survives anywhere. All his big successes came outside his own country: "I belong to a nation that has ceased to be interested." He went to Austria-Hungary, Russia, England and, like Pierre Boulez in our own day, especially to Germany: "Once when I conducted the [*Romeo and Juliet*] Adagio in Hanover, I felt something or somebody pulling me from behind. I turned round: it was the players nearest my desk; they were kissing my coat-tails."

His fight to be heard was also a fight on behalf of his immediate elders, Gluck, Weber, Beethoven, against the neglecters or vandalizers of their scores. Here and everywhere his total commitment and professionalism gives great strength to his criticism. The absorbing accounts of concerts and performances in the '40s and '50s remind one of George Bernard Shaw's early career as a music critic in the London '80s and '90s. The same deep knowledge, enthusiasm, and insistently high standards, the same fundamental common sense, the same humanity, of course the wit, and especially the same remarkable power of telling us what it all really sounded like, a skill that in an extraordinary way can bring an ancient performance to life for us and teach us something new.

Berlioz wrote a lot about music during his lifetime (1803-69): he had to,

to make a living; but the *Memoirs* shed especial light on his own work. He was clearly looking for converts as he wrote these advertisements for himself. They are full of illuminating comments on the composition and performance of his best things, the *Requiem*, the *Damnation*, the *Enfance du Christ*, the Shakespeare music. Fortunately today two distinguished disciples, Colin Davis and Pierre Boulez, are turning out beautiful performances in the concert hall and in the studio. So the wisest way to read this delightful book is to do it with their recordings on hand, Davis' *Romeo and Juliet*, for example, or Boulez' *Fantastic Symphony* and *Lélio*. Toscanini, also, has recorded some marvelous Berlioz, if you can track it down.

The Year Without an Autumn. Portrait of a School in Crisis

ROBERT ROSSNER

Richard W. Baron, \$5.95

Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism

INTRODUCTION BY NAT HENTOFF

Richard W. Baron, \$5.95

MURRAY POLNER

These books deal with a subject which in less explosive times might never have arisen. In Atlanta, Jews and blacks support one another's candidates; civil rights groups probably continue to be funded disproportionately by Jewish donors; bigots never cease to revile both groups with equal contempt. Still, as we all know, the New York City teacher strike was a shock, for suddenly both groups found themselves at one another's throats making senseless and hysterical public statements.

The Year Without An Autumn is the work of Robert Rossner, an experienced teacher at the Bronx High School of Science, who crossed the line during the strike and was "radicalized" in the events that followed. Although presented as a diary his book is a plea for major structural changes in the high school as well as a moving defense of

black, Puerto Rican and white, usually Jewish radical, students and their concerns, which Rossner considers to be primarily moral. It also gives a good look at the inner workings of the system during the strike: a well-meaning principal caught between faculty hawks and doves; the humiliation of professional colleagues and friends battling each other; the ineptness of top and middle management within the Board of Education's vast bureaucracy; the profound bitterness that made compromise seem like a betrayal of justice.

While Staten Island and Queens conservatives, their authoritarian hearts really true to Buckley and Goldwater, became passionate unionists for the moment, *some* Jews and *some* blacks shrieked at each other all the hoary insults dreamed up by their mutual enemies. It was a macabre yet typical portrait of racialism in which the distortions and stereotypes of the haters have been absorbed by its victims.

What were some Jewish people so alarmed at? Almost a year ago John Leo expressed surprise in *Commonweal* that Jews could behave like *Brooklyn Tablet* Catholics. But why the astonishment? They have the frenzied headlines of the *Jewish Press*, a growing organization of vigilantes, and far more important, the same anxieties as all less privileged, less educated, and older white Americans. Jobs honestly attained in competition with other whites, either through grueling civil service examinations or seniority are not surrendered with tolerance and compassion. The strike was, as Herbert Gans has written elsewhere, "largely an economic and political struggle over the succession process, and a class conflict." I think he is also correct when he points out that neither anti-Semitism nor anti-black bias played a major "causal" role in the strike. Nonetheless, frightened and angered Jews began to ask, "Why us, why *only* us?" To be sure, Jews, as all whites, cannot realize what being black in America has meant. But at the same time black people cannot appreciate the burden of being Jewish in a Christian world.

In Nat Hentoff's fascinating if some-

what unbalanced compilation, the opponents, once removed, go at each other again. Albert Vorspan of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations cautions Jews against racism, reminding them "we had our own Stern Gang and Irgun which practiced violence and terror." Like Hentoff in his brief introduction, and Rabbi Allan Miller, another contributor, Vorspan wants Judaism to "count for something," to side with the oppressed everywhere and to emphasize its ethical role. Julius Lester insists "black anti-Semitism is not the problem; it has never been the problem. Jews have never suffered at the hands of black people. The issue is [white] racism."

In rebuttal, Earl Raab argues that the reason for Jewish concern was that black militancy frequently flirted with an "anti-Semitic ideology." It is hard indeed for a Jew to hear "Zionists" denounced without suspecting that the same euphemism has been used by Jew-haters. Going further, Rabbi Jay Kaufmann advances a number of "codes" of conduct: 1. "The strongest advocacy of Negro causes does not require the support or silence before anti-Semitism." 2. "In the genuine pursuit of justice for one American minority, it is folly to visit injustice upon another." 3. "Foes of Jews also mean the Negro ill." 4. "White passivity in the face of the growing incidence of black anti-Semitism is a betrayal of the ideals upon which this country has been bred."

Are there any answers? For Jews several avenues are possible. The first, what might best be termed the "lay low" doctrine, emphasizes the menace of a convulsive America where violence is endemic. "The danger signs are blinking all over" a rabbi wrote recently. Therefore, he cautioned, stay away from the explosive issues: Vietnam (it might cause a Right backlash against Israel) and Race (it might harm Jews in southern communities). This retreat to moral isolation however, is very risky. Not only does it lead to the dead end of Jewish Defense League theatrics but it also runs the risk of denying that the Jewish ethical and prophetic tradi-

tion has anything important to say. Do that and the best of the young will surely turn away from Judaism in revulsion.

A second possibility is for both Jews and Negroes to be guided by their own values or as Fanon once suggested, encouraging Jews to reach for authenticity and black people for recognition. Judaism teaches that right needs no *quid pro quo*. One acts ethically because it is a moral imperative and because "any Jew who fails in this struggle," as the Synagogue Council of America has stated, "demeans his faith."

Jews are not the enemy of black people. Certainly the real power in this country does not rest in their hands. The sources of black suffering is, instead, deeply rooted in our past, our profit system and our institutions. Why attack one another when the "Six Million" and the "400 Years of Slavery" are but one and the same, each a corollary of the other? Black hope is restricted by real estate boards, banks, churches that remain mute, and a corporate state that prefers wasting trillions of dollars on a monstrosity called Defense.

To set the record straight, every objective survey indicates quite clearly that Negroes are less anti-Semitic than white Christians and that vast numbers of Jews—Reform Jews, the non-affiliated, the young and the better educated—continue to view sympathetically the black struggle. At the same time, non-Jews might well interpret the teacher strike as suggesting that their time is coming too: decentralized police and fire and sanitation forces are no longer radical pipedreams; soon recalcitrant construction unions will come under even greater attack than they have thus far experienced.

We can all survive if we learn to accommodate to one another. But that is unattainable unless vast new economic opportunities are opened up to tone down the angry voices of these economic conflicts. Racial and religious groups will be able to meet in reasonable peace only when they face each other as equals, and only as equals.

***As I Live and Breathe:
Stages of an Autobiography***

MALCOLM BOYD

Random House, \$6.95

RICHARD J. NEUHAUS

R.W.B. Lewis' foreword is no doubt meant to praise but I expect many will read it as an indictment of Malcolm Boyd's person and ministry: "it is hard to think of any churchman more at home than Malcolm Boyd in the depths and heights, on the fringes and at the center of the world of America today." To be at home in the world of America today is no compliment. For all that seems provocatively, even prophetically, critical in his work, the suspicion is frequently voiced that Malcolm Boyd is very much at home presiding at the compulsive celebration of the cult of relevance. For those who want to find it, there is in this book fuel to fire almost any suspicion of Malcolm Boyd. The saving grace is that Malcolm knows it, and his willing vulnerability shames the attacker into withdrawal, if not into changing his mind about Malcolm Boyd.

You have heard it said by them of old time that Boyd simply reflects the frenetic state of the affair between religion and the media. As chaplain to the young and alienated, it is alleged, he is as captive to his constituency as is N. V. Peale to his clients in the business world. Whether at the hungry i or on TV talk shows, it is said, he is peddling his version of Christianity in a way not qualitatively different from Billy Graham's marketing of another version. Perhaps so, but I suspect there is merit in Boyd's superior choice of constituency and product. And I know that his course requires putting oneself on the line in a way that is quite unnecessary for the champions of Peale-Graham boosterism. Most of those who disdain his motives and style are safely distant from the physical and psychic violence to which he has been exposed in an apostolate that ranges from the freedom rides of the early 60s to the draft-resisting and revolutionary try-outs of the 70s. Boyd is neither theologian nor political analyst; he is not

even—at least not in this book—a notably good writer. But Malcolm Boyd is plausible, and he has a compelling thing about Jesus and what the world could be like.

Malcolm Boyd knows he is used. "I was in strong demand as a one-shot 'hot' speaker, expected to say things others would not say. (It was tacitly agreed these things *should* be said.) After I had left, the pieces could be picked up, apologies made, certain 'truths' publicly affirmed, and the speaker forgiven—with damningly po-

Early Boyd



lite smiles—his eccentric gaucheries." He is still in strong demand, he still sells books and accepts invitations. What else is he to do? To dig he cannot, and to beg he is ashamed. Beyond that, "beautiful things" still happen "in honest dialogue about being authentic persons"—at least it happens often enough to carry him through the times of emptiness.

Toward the end of his autobiographical dissertation he writes, "I am Malcolm. Underneath a number of titles, roles, functions and images—this is who I am." The statement is a bit tautological, no doubt, but it is more than that. It is a plea to be accepted, not too far away from Malcolm in high school resenting his exclusion by students from the better families. It is the same Malcolm-on-the-make screaming for attention, posing and stumbling his way through his early years in Hollywood. "I am ———. This is who I

am!!" It's uncomfortably close to the yearning that most men, upon reaching their mid-40's, have not too successfully hidden under the cloaks of maturity.

"I am Malcolm." It is also a priestly assertion; Here I am—whatever and whoever I am—and I offer it up. Do what you can with it, Lord, make what you can of it; all I know is that right now, in this sweating, struggling, confusing present, I am Malcolm.

And so, in one way or another, say we all.

***The State in Capitalist
Society***

RALPH MILIBAND

Basic Books, \$6.95

DICK HOWARD

The State in Capitalist Society, the author notes, is also intended as "a general political sociology of advanced capitalism." This statement gives the methodological key to the book (and it is a weakness that this methodology is never explicitly discussed): the notion of *totality*, the understanding that nothing can be studied in an abstractly "pure" form, and that in order to understand the concrete reality of a social institution that institution must be analyzed in relation to the social whole within which it exists and functions. Based on this method, Ralph Miliband's contribution, with its clear style, lucid argumentation and extensive use of examples drawn from nearly all advanced capitalist lands, will be a landmark book, and the basis for further analysis.

The stress on the capitalist system as a totality demands an attack on the reigning pluralist doctrine, based, Miliband argues, on an "abstracted empiricism." "One of the main purposes of the present work is in fact to show in detail that the pluralist-democratic view of society, of politics and of the state . . . is in all essentials wrong—that this view, far from providing a guide to reality, constitutes a profound obfuscation of it." The confrontation of the totality-view with the pluralist argument that the state is an aggregate of equally competing, countervailing forces

runs like a red thread throughout the book, and constitutes one of its most important elements.

The abstract empiricist view treats its object of study as an individual unity to be analyzed in isolation; but, within the social totality, the isolated object plays a different role, even though it itself (or its agents) may not be conscious of this. In order to make clear the limits of the pluralist-empiricist view, Miliband continually begins his discussions by presenting the empirical "facts," only to continue with a "however," a "but," or a "nonetheless," and to show that, within the social whole, the "facts" take on a different significance than it seemed in the original abstraction.

After a general sketch of the common economic and social elements of advanced capitalist societies (including Japan), Miliband investigates whether a "ruling class" does in fact exist, and more importantly, whether it exercises the decisive power in society. This ruling class, he shows, does exist; and its role is indeed decisive. A discussion of "the purpose and role of governments," rich in historical examples, shows that the business and propertied interests which compose the ruling class can count on the support of the state, even when that state is partially or wholly controlled by "socialists." Such "socialist" regimes seldom alter the personnel or the power of the other components of the state (judicial, military, bureaucratic, etc.) which, because of the role, selection system, social origins, etc. of officials, favor the interests of capitalism. Such "socialist" experiments, however, are rare; in normal capitalist conditions business interests have an enormous advantage over the other forces of society. Even though from time to time they may not get their way, there is little chance of their suffering a fundamental defeat. Nonetheless, the fact that capitalist interests are not absolutely dominant leads to the question: how is it that they do, in fact, maintain their social control?

In two long chapters, Miliband investigates the means by which capitalist

interests "legitimate" their system. He employs Gramsci's notion of "hegemony," which he defines, following G.A. Williams, as "'an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations.'"

Miliband's conclusions are the weakest aspect of the book. Because any reform within the capitalist system which does not do away with the economic inequality at its base is doomed only to alleviate but not to eliminate the problems of capitalism, Miliband argues that the failure of reform will likely lead to repression. "It is easily possible," he argues, "to conceive of forms of conservative authoritarianism which would not be 'Fascist,' in the old sense, which would be claimed to be 'democratic' precisely because they were not 'Fascist,' and whose establishment would be defended as in the best interests of 'democracy' itself."

This prognosis, Miliband admits, leaves out of question the struggle by the Left. Yet, he continues, there is no left-wing force truly capable of fighting for political power. For this reason, the move towards authoritarianism seems probable . . . but, yet, in the end, asserts Miliband, the working class will acquire "the faculty for ruling the nation," and "as Marx also put it, the state will be converted 'from an organ superposed upon society into one completely subordinated to it.'"

Miliband gives no reason for his faith in the working class and its ultimate victory—a weakness, for, after all, such reasons exist. Nonetheless, his analysis of the state in advanced capitalism, and his prognosis of the danger of a new authoritarianism have to be taken with the utmost seriousness. Miliband provides the base for a renewed social analysis on the basis of the social totality; and he suggests that unless a new, democratic Left is created, we face an unpleasant future.

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Humiliation and Celebration

GABRIEL FACKRE

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ALBERT L. SCHLITZER

The sub-title of the book: "Post-Radical Themes in Doctrine, Morals and Mission," serves notice that the author takes seriously the position of radical theologians who in one way or other proposed the "death of God," the death of traditional morality, and the death of the institutional church. That he proposes "post-radical themes" on these issues indicates that he intends to pursue a middle course between the contemporary radical stance and the traditional or conventional. The central themes of which he writes: man's relation to God, to accepted principles of moral conduct and to the institutional church are most sensitive areas of disquiet for all Christians be they Catholic or Protestant. The *Humiliation* in the title refers to God in the world of "secular" man and calls attention to the primary concern of the author to update the Christian doctrine of God by reinterpreting the words of Paul to the Philippians: ". . . who though he was in the form of God . . . emptied (humbled) himself taking the form of a servant." Of *Celebration* he has much less to say—a brief discussion of liturgical service where sobriety predominates and where the worship of God has a very dubious place.

Gabriel Fackre writes as a pastor and as a scholar. He was ordained for the ministry in the United Church of Christ and served in several pastorates. He earned his doctorate in theology at the University of Chicago and at present holds the position of professor of theology at Lancaster Theological Seminary. He reminds this reviewer of Friedrich Schleiermacher with the twofold thrust of his effort: to win contemporary man back to religion, and to accommodate the Christian Gospel to the scientific and secular spirit of the day. He gives ample evidence throughout the book of his sincere pastoral concern to win men back to the Gospel, or, as he would put it, to retell in an appealing

way the Story of God's way with men. But a question looms large: at what cost to authenticity does he accommodate and retell the Story? He gives an impressive display of scholarship with numerous references to the writings of others. One would conclude that he knows the literature, but then again one suspects that he possesses breadth rather than depth in the literature.

The keynote of the book—that which acts negatively in clearing away the mist that blinds man's vision, and that which positively enables him to see himself as he truly is—is the dictum: "man come of age." Fackre takes Bonhoeffer as his guide and inspiration. This slogan of Bonhoeffer as interpreted by Fackre means that as regards God, man can no longer place his reliance on a transcendent God to whom he flies when his explanations and his own resources give out. Rather, so this line of reasoning goes, man must be self-reliant, taking full responsibility for his life here on earth. God is neither transcendent (up there) nor immanent (down here), but alongside, or better still, on ahead. In matters of morals, man "come of age" must take full responsibility for his conduct; cannot and should not look to laws imposed from on high to determine his course of action. Rather he must rely on his own good sense and the accumulated wisdom of his fellowmen. In another important area of life, the church, "man come of age" cannot and should not look on the church as his "mother." This is an infantile attitude. Rather the church is an association of men working together democratically toward the betterment of mankind.

Unlike the radical theologians, Fackre does not call for the "death of God," but for the withdrawal of God from man and man's affairs. Feuerbach, Marx and many writers of the last and present century called for the withdrawal or elimination of God so that man could be himself, but this they demanded solely in the name of humanism. Fackre calls for it in the name of God and on the score of the Story of the incarnation and redemption. Christ's bitter protest of abandonment by the

Father on the Cross, says Fackre, reveals God's intention to hold back and leave man to his own devices. God made himself weak and helpless toward man on the Cross. This sort of Christian adulthood issues from the Cross. The Father becomes the "companion" of man, and hardly more than a helpless companion at that. Fackre argues that just as the good earthly father brings up his child to adulthood, that is, independence of himself, and just as the good teacher aims to develop his student to think for himself and not to be dependent on him, so God the Father wants to set man free and to give him full responsibility over his life.

Interesting as is this interpretation of what happened on the Cross, it is too much secularized to meet the essential demands of Christian faith. Christ does not teach us to consider the Father as a helpless companion, or as One who is no more than an equal. The "Our Father" Christ taught us is totally contrary to Fackre's reading. Yet Fackre is right in this that the Christian of today cannot and should not act the part of an irresponsible child before God. Christian adulthood is indeed a paradox, as is the saying of Ignatius of Loyola: "Pray as if everything depended on you."

Rhodesia: A Study of the Deterioration of a White Society

FRANK CLEMENTS

Praeger, \$6.50

Origins of Rhodesia

STANLAKE SAMKANGE

Praeger, \$9

KOFI ANKOMAH

The inevitable has finally happened in Rhodesia. Four years and three months since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (U.D.I.), with abundant evidence of stability, growth and white Rhodesian self-confidence in an *apartheid* regime, Ian Smith's Rhodesia has declared itself a republic. Links with the British crown are severed: the

"Rhodesian State" will act as it pleases without any consultation with the crown; its position will be similar to that of *apartheid* South Africa. Frank Clements, a one-time journalist and broadcaster in Rhodesia, and Stanlake Samkange, Professor of African History at Fisk University, both argue that these events can be better understood from a historical perspective.

In *Rhodesia: A Study of the Deterioration of A White Society*, Clements offers a superficial survey of Rhodesia from the first white contact with the (Rhodesian) Africans to the present and attempts to analyze the effects of the Smith regime on the lives of the Rhodesian people—black and white. But Clements fails to apportion the appropriate blame to the British for their ineffectiveness in combating the horrible "deterioration of a white society."

On the other hand, Stanlake Samkange, an African (from Rhodesia), sets out to "tell the truth" about the conquest of Rhodesia by Europeans. His presentation is so highly emotional and so passionate an indictment of the British, that it can hardly be considered objective. Much of the information that Dr. Samkange presents can be found in his historical novel, *On Trial for My Country*, wherein such emotionalism was more appropriate. Both books fail to explain why the events they describe took the turn they have in Rhodesia.

The status of Rhodesia as a republic is an inevitable result of developments since U.D.I. on November 11, 1965. First, the recent *coups d'état* in other parts of Africa have strengthened the stranglehold of the Smith regime: the attention of most African leaders has been inwardly directed, and they have given little support to those African nationalists seeking to topple the Smith regime.

Second, with the split among the nationalist leadership, the Smith regime can suppress any movements which merely appear to threaten its existence long before they ever become real threats.

Third, thanks to the dedicated support of South Africa and Portugal,

Smith's Rhodesia continues to develop without the anticipated hardships that selective economic sanctions were to produce.

Fourth, since U.D.I. there has been an exodus of people opposed to the emerging *apartheid* policies and an influx of immigrants, supporters of *apartheid* policies unable to live under African governments in Zambia, Kenya and other areas. This has practically eliminated internal criticism by the white population and increasingly generated growing self-confidence in the Smith regime.

Fifth, the University College, once a citadel of criticism of racist tendencies in Rhodesian society, was placed under police control in March 1966; and even though the police were later physically removed from the campus, incidents of infringement of academic freedom mount.

Sixth, continual censorship has prevailed in the country's press, radio and television so that the information disseminated is only that which seems favorable to the regime, and what is concealed from the press and the rest of the world is the Rhodesian trend towards an *apartheid* system.

Seventh, many more repressive laws have been enacted, including the Land Reform Act and the Municipal Amendment Act authorizing local authorities to restrict public amenities to a particular race.

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Eighth, the Smith regime has steadily moved to embrace a one-party state and has denounced the concept of majority rule in Rhodesia.

Ninth, a feeling has developed among white Rhodesians that if they can get by with the British Labor Party, they can surely count on a future Conservative government, at least for tacit support, as a result of certain sentiments expressed by the Conservative Party leadership.

Tenth, in spite of international condemnation and a façade of criticism, there have been no effective sanctions to restrain the Smith regime from turning Rhodesia into a "white supremacist society"; in short, the Smith regime has overturned much of the administrative, legislative and legal apparatus that would have acted to curb the government from embarking on an *apartheid* system of government.

What is apt to happen in Rhodesia now? First, as in the instance of South Africa, most countries will continue to publicly denounce it while at the same time opening embassies in it. Second, the perpetuation of white supremacist policies, i.e., *apartheid*, will continue with added sophistication in violation of rules of international public policy. Policies of economic sanctions aimed at coercing the Smith regime into a more humane course will be abandoned or relaxed or rendered ineffective; meanwhile investments will continue to pour in from the industrialized countries, as obtains in South Africa. The

practice of democracy is considered inappropriate by the white minority because they consider the Africans savages. The authority of the white minority who constitute less than five percent of the total population is enhanced. The rights of individual citizens within the Republic continues to be infringed. In the name of fighting Communism, *apartheid* Rhodesia will commit mass murder of any Africans who will resist and rebel against the government. One is left wondering to what extent the Genocide Convention and the principles behind the Nuremberg Trials would be invoked by Rhodesia's kith and kin—Britain and, to some extent, America?



CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 107)

surfaces as the hippopotamus it is, scores of onlookers are justifiably disturbed that it will step recklessly on the painstakingly nurtured issues with which it cohabits: racism, poverty and the associated injustices of a capital-based economics, the persistence of war in Asia and the Middle East, the suppression of varying life-styles, and others.

The fact that these issues have been growing in the presence of a submerged hippopotamus is relevant both to the hippo and to its associates. The problems of shrinking resources in the face of expanding population is inextricably linked with the width of the gap between industrialized countries and the third world. The unchecked economic growth and lack of recycling of resources which many ecologists oppose on scarcity considerations are at the same time the fuel for our heavy industries, especially defense; and it is just this stoking of the armaments fire which many oppose for its purposelessness, or worse, its destructiveness. Pollution is as unsound in the Gulf of Tonkin as it is in Lake Erie, and what's more, the global circulation of the oceans quickly internationalizes the sin. Furthermore, in the urban ghettos, where the environment most desperately needs cleansing, ironically the Blacks stand to suffer

differentially from pollution. As Dr. B. Wallace at Cornell recently pointed out, an estimated 10 percent of the Black population in America carries the recessive gene for sickle-cell anemia, a genetic characteristic widespread in Africa. Carriers of this gene have decreased tolerance for lowered oxygen concentrations. Carbon monoxide pollution from cars is likely to asphyxiate such people first. It is clear that the ecological problems of the world are inseparable from other concerns of our society.

The implication of this is not just that the hippo is here to stay, but that he has been here all along. Our frightening accumulations of lead in plants, animals and people did not occur from spontaneous generation following the State of the Union address; nor are the Strontium-90 or DDT or PCB or any of 500,000 other currently used chemicals newcomers to the scene. They have been accumulating in some cases for centuries; and in most cases for a decade or more. They are a dangerous and immediate threat to our survival. They require careful thought for their removal. Technological pollution devices cannot alone be a remedy. Such devices always work on a percentage basis, cleaning up a certain fraction of the pollutant. As the absolute amount of pollution increases with the increasing population, or increasing standard of living, the amount of pollutants in the environment will increase, with or without pollution devices. A factory, proud that it was removing 99.99 percent of its acid from the effluent, nevertheless succeeded in pouring enough sulfuric acid into the river to kill all fish for six miles downstream by its daily operation, despite its exceptionally careful pollution controls.

Somehow, in our stream crammed with social and political problems, our bed of water-lilies, we must find room for the hippopotamus. If not, there is little doubt that it will simply eat the flowers and thereby destroy the entire habitat known as human civilization. Clearly to maintain the ecosystem, we must tend to both the lilies and their grazer. Of course, in our surprise at finding ourselves suddenly astride a

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hippo, it is worth remembering that it is just as ludicrous to hide from the other issues in the stream by sitting on the hippo, as it is to expect to escape the inexorable chomp of this beast by sitting on a water lily.

WALTER E. WESTMAN
Cornell University

Correction

New York, N. Y.

To the Editors: Unfortunately, part of a line in my piece on the Nixon education message and integration [Mar. 27] got lost somewhere between myself, the magazine and the printers. Since I do not want to add any more to the confusion over school integration and community control than presently exists, could you make the correction? The sentence should have read: "In the North it was disillusioned black integrationist leaders who led the ranks for community control, and white critics of integration *who blossomed as late proponents of school integration*" (emphasis on missing clause).

MAURICE R. BERUBE

Israel and the Arabs

Houston, Texas

To the Editors: Re Robert Hirschfield, "Israel—The Strange Sounds Of Protest" [March 6th]: I was truly astounded by his comment, "But before one could become too impressed by such positive developments one was granted a sudden peek into the stifling closet of Israel's shame." He then refers to "a student" saying, "All Arabs are dogs!"

It is truly astounding for me to listen to an individual make such gross generalizations on the basis of the comment of one individual in Israel. Would one say that all Americans hate Negroes simply because there are some who feel that way? Should one say that no one in the United States is willing to defend his country since there are some who feel that way? Should one say that all Americans are murderers since in recent years we have seen important officials of our country mur-

dered by American citizens? The answer is obvious—no.

Israel wants peace. But the land cannot be peaceful as long as Arab infiltrators and terrorists invade the land. There can be no peace in the Middle East as long as Arab terrorists shoot up El Al airplanes. There can be no peace in the land as long as civilians traveling on airplanes going through international airways are killed by acts of sabotage. . . .

Must thousands of people be killed before the world gets excited? It is about time that the nations of the world indicate their sincerity and their desire for peace by insisting upon face-to-face negotiations. When peace arrives to the Middle East both Jew and Arab will be living much more comfortably and enjoying life to a greater extent.

(RABBI) JACK SEGAL

A World Without War

Berkeley, Calif.

To the Editors: The World Without War Council of the United States is looking for people who think controlling the threat of war is the central political problem of our time, and who want to spend a year finding out what it means to work seriously on that problem.

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Occasional Reader:

THIS APRIL 17 ISSUE seems to us to typify very well *Commonweal's* consistent timeliness and topicality. With a national drive against pollution getting under way, for example, Michael Harrington shows how corporations will attempt to make additional profits from the efforts to curtail or do away with the noxious pollution they themselves have caused. As he characterizes their proposed anti-pollution tax-cut: "It would, in effect, reward those who have befouled the atmosphere . . ."

At a moment when there is so much official and public controversy in Israel as to which citizens qualify as Jewish, Michael Zeik explains how and why the Orthodox element tends to dominate in this embattled State. Also Robert Drinan's discussion of efforts to repeal current abortion laws and Richard Halloran's report on Japan's present stance in foreign affairs are likewise most newsworthy.

Informative as this one week's sample is, you will be able to discover the full force and unique flavor of this lay-edited journal of opinion only by reading successive issues of *Commonweal* for several months. To make this possible for you at a minimum of inconvenience, we are offering a trial subscription of 17 issues for only \$3—over 400 pages of meaningful political, cultural and religious comment at a saving of 55% of the magazine's single-copy price. As a free bonus we will send you the widely discussed COMMONWEAL PAPERS 4, "The Church in the Year 2000," if you indicate that you want it by returning the attached coupon.

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